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ABSTRACT

This report illustrates how practitioners in The City University of New York's compensatory education programs are starting to realize that ethnicity, culture, and family heritage have a significant role in the educational and psychological development of students. It provides a compendium of the efforts made to apply cultural knowledge to the service of students in the following programs: (1) Search for Education, Elevation and Knowledge (SEEK); (2) the College Discovery Program (CD); and (3) the College Discovery and Development Program (CDDP). The report contains the following sections: (1) "Introduction" (Samuel D. Johnson, Jr.); (2) "Breaking the Silence: The Use of Folktales in the College-Level Composition Course" (June Bobb); (3) "Issues to Be Considered When Practicing Career Counseling with Adult Hispanic Students" (Lilia Rosado); (4) "Cultural Interference in Peer Tutoring Situations" (Janet Moser and Mark Patkowski); (5) "College and Career Guidance Workshop for At-Risk Hispanic High School Girls" (Carole Cilento); and (6) "Cultural Identity and Value Orientations of Island and Mainland Puerto Rican College Freshmen" (Diego Colcn). Notes on contributors, five tables, and 42 references are included. (JS)

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LINKAGES

PERSPECTIVES FROM SPECIAL PROGRAMS

Fall 1988 Vol. 6, No. 1

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Multicultural Issues in Special Programs

Office of Special Programs
The City University of New York

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Linkages is the Journal of the Office of Special Programs of The City University of New York (CUNY). The Office of Special Programs (OSP) is responsible for the administrative oversight, coordination, long-range planning, and enhancement of the University's opportunity programs: Search for Education, Elevation, and Knowledge (SEEK) in the senior colleges; College Discovery (CD) in the community colleges; and the College Discovery and Development Program (CDDP) in the five high school centers of the consortium with the New York City Board of Education. The primary purpose of Linkages is to serve as a forum for exchanging information and ideas on issues relevant to these three programs.

Linkages sends out periodic calls for papers on specific topics. However, we welcome contributions at any time. Papers can be descriptions of programs, reports of research, theoretical pieces, or book reviews. Preference is given to papers which pertain directly to the Special Programs population and/or written by people who work with Special Programs students. However, papers about other populations and/or written by others within or outside of CUNY will be considered as long as they have some relevance to Special Programs students.

Articles are selected for publication by a committee from the Office of Special Programs. Submissions should be sent to: Editor, Linkages; Office of Special Programs, The City University of New York, 555 West 57th Street, Suite 1512, New York, N.Y. 10019.

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LINKAGES: PERSPECTIVES FROM SPECIAL PROGRAMS

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A NOTE FROM THE EDITOR

The Editorial Committee of Linkages extends its appreciation to the many people who made this issue possible. The careful layout and typing by Word Processing at the CUNY Central Office as well as the cover design by Graphics and the printing by Reprographics were invaluable. Members of the Office of Special Programs staff gave helpful suggestions and feedback. Dean Samuel Johnson's introduction was critical in establishing a context for the articles. Finally, the authors themselves were generous with their insights and patient with the editing process.

INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, compensatory education programs such as the SEEK, College Discovery, and College Discovery and Development Programs have been thought of as "racial minority programs." Consequently many more subtle aspects of our students' social and cultural experiences were masked by their consistently being thought of as minorities rather than students who were culturally different. All minorities are not the same, neither are all "Blacks" the same, or all "Hispanics," nor all Asians. Those of us in education and the applied social sciences have participated in the maintenance of an illusion, the illusion that minority status, racial self-designation or racial ascription have the capacity to determine the social identity of students from diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds. It is significant that Linkages is taking this issue as an opportunity to dispel our illusory notions by illustrating the power and utility of harnessing ethnically and culturally linked energy in education, counseling, guidance, tutoring, and developmental training.

The current volume of Linkages illustrates how practitioners in The City University's compensatory programs are teasing out the subtleties of what many of us suspected long ago, that ethnicity, culture and family heritage have a significant role to play in the educational and psychological development of the students we serve. The City University of New York is a model of an urban multicultural university, and managing the implications of the widely diverse human resources it garners is a task we each share. What you have before you is a compendium of the efforts made by personnel under the administration of the University's Office of Special Programs to apply cultural knowledge to the service of students in their programs.

The articles contained here represent the implementation of our collective commitment to pluralism, culturally sensitive education and the application of what we have learned from years of work in the field. Take advantage of each of the perspectives offered here to stimulate your own thoughts on how cultural and ethnic diversity make a difference in your own work, to consider how what these authors say can provide you with direction, motivation and support. Their work represents the work we each do to integrate what we've learned in school and professional training with what we know from having lived and worked in urban multicultural environments.

Taken together the collection in this volume strikes an effective balance between the culturally specific and the culturally general. Three of the articles address the specific concerns of working with students of Hispanic and Puerto Rican backgrounds; those remaining address more generally applicable issues that highlight cultural knowledge and ethnic heritage. Each of them makes an important statement, but as a collection they represent some of the best of what The City University itself represents: A reasoned and inquiring commitment to providing structurally unimpeded access to higher education for the citizens of the city of New York in the context of all the ethnic richness we collectively represent.

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"My race began as the sea began,
with no nouns, and with no horizon,
with pebbles under my tongue,
with a different fix on the stars."

"*Names*" - Derek Walcott

BREAKING THE SILENCE: THE USE OF FOLKTALES IN THE COLLEGE-LEVEL COMPOSITION COURSE

JUNE BOBB

In many of today's college-level composition classes, students from other countries and American students interact with each other, each engaged in the essentially lonely act of writing. The classroom is transformed into a world of exploration where students from many countries, sometimes warring countries, meet and struggle together to maintain their tenuous hold of the English language. This mixture of students poses an exceptional challenge for the teacher of English, as beginning writers, regardless of their countries of origin, are generally fearful of exposing their writing vulnerabilities. They erect a wall of silence which the teacher must penetrate. To meet this challenge and to dispel the fears that confront beginning writers is the primary responsibility of the English teacher. The classroom must be transformed into a community of learners, a place where students feel at ease and are willing to present for public scrutiny their initial hesitant confrontations with the written word.

In such a multinational community the use of folktales, with their introduction into a world of magic and wisdom, is the ideal vehicle of communication, for the tales are about experiences shared. In addition, the brevity of folktales, their sharp clear outline, their concise language and their unity of style and content make them excellent tools for the teaching of writing.

THE STRUCTURE OF FOLKTALES

To encourage the creativity of beginning writers, to build self-confidence, to transform their sometimes fleeting ideas into tangible words, it is important that the writing environment be open and encouraging. Folktales admirably serve this purpose. They are chosen from various cultures, for as Geertz puts it: "Understanding a people's culture exposes their normalness without reducing their particularity....It renders them accessible" (14). This sense of the accessible is particularly important given the multi-ethnic composition of the society at large and the Special Programs classroom in particular, for the exposure to other cultures aids in the understanding and appreciation of difference and promotes the recognition of a common humanity. Folktales focus on moments of resistance, victory and loss and they introduce the aesthetical pleasure of reading literature. They provide explanations of why the world is the way it is. Students as readers and writers of tales develop important skills. They are forced to use their imaginations to enter strange new worlds, to understand the writer's experience and to articulate the point of the experience. This is all part of the expository process.

During the first six weeks of the semester, students are engaged in writing short pieces of prose, basic paragraphs. Their experience of reading folktales forces them to see narrative and descriptive techniques at work. For example, they become aware of chronology in time, the use of dialogue, and the appeal to the senses which is at the heart of the descriptive process. They consider word selectivity and sentence sense and come to an awareness of logical organization without losing the structural pattern of the entire work.

As the semester proceeds, students work on expanding the paragraph into the essay. To enhance this expansion, students select a narrative paragraph written earlier in the semester. In an early assignment students were to retell in one paragraph a folktale told to them by an older person. Rewriting the same paragraph facilitates the recognition of structural and organizational similarity and students see that the paragraph is the essay in miniature. As they work on expanding the paragraph into the essay, students transform the simple opening sentence of their paragraphs. For example, "My old grandfather told me a story," becomes an introductory paragraph for an essay. Here the grandfather's age is highlighted by utilizing physical description, and the inevitable realities of aging, wrinkles and seriously curtailed movement emerge in tangible form.

To reinforce organizational and structural concepts, students read an African folktale "How the Ethiopian Woman Tamed her Husband." This is a masterpiece of precision and control. The experience related is relevant and timeless--the loss of love and the fear of loneliness which is framed immediately in the opening sentences: "Once there was a woman who was greatly troubled by her husband. He no longer loved her. He neglected her and seemed to care little whether she was happy or sad" (Kamel 69). The core sentence, "he no longer loved her," establishes the theme of the loss of love. The structure of the tale is clear. Once the problem is identified, the sequence is tight. There is a call to action--the woman visits her witchdoctor. The proposed solution--the taming of the lion to acquire three hairs requested by the witchdoctor, and the woman's sudden illumination based on her understanding of the analogical situation--both lions and husbands can be "tamed" with kindness. Here students see the value of an economy of words. In writing of their own experiences the tendency is either to crowd the composition, to leave nothing out, or to compress meaning to such an extent that much expansion is needed to create the world of the experience. By observing the unified action of this folktale, students learn an important rule: follow the action and permit no unnecessary digressions. The problem of time is handled here in the most logical way--the way in which events occur in real life. Because dialogue is an integral part of the structure of the folktale, students become aware of persona as each character speaks in his unique voice. At the same time, the mechanical business of format is discussed, also, the way in which dialogue is presented in the text. It is important to emphasize the correctness of form early in the semester and to introduce students to the MLA Handbook, for these principles are utilized in all varieties of writing and in all subject areas. One aim of a beginning writing course is to encourage and formalize the gifts of description and narration most students already possess. As the student proceeds on the written journey, the subjective voice of early narration and description is transformed into the objective voice of analysis. Narration and description are used to illustrate ideas, to support arguments.

THE PROCESS OF NAMING

By this time students are comfortable with the structure of the folktale. Time is now spent in looking at specific ways in which narrative and descriptive techniques breathe life into

the work. In their own writing, students are encouraged to find language that speaks to the senses, language to create the world of the experience. At this point, the process of naming is crucial and students embark on a special journey, the search for the right word so that experiences may be shared and differences acknowledged. The acknowledgement and understanding of difference is important not only individually, but also on a larger scale. It encourages respect for the "others" in society. Through communication, the strange becomes the familiar and, therefore, is no longer threatening. At the same time, there is no inherent sense of the hierarchical or an attempt to impose the patterns of one culture upon another. As Dasenbrock puts it, "a full or even adequate understanding of another culture is never to be gained by translating it entirely into one's own terms. It is different and that difference must be respected" (18).

To reinforce the journey of exploration into the world of words, students look at examples of ways in which different cultures view the centricity of the word. For all students words are a force for empowerment, but words have a special significance for students whose native language is not English. These students are confronting a new culture, and must break their silence. Very often barriers of silence are erected as measures of survival and eventually become internalized. In the society of the writing classroom this internalization becomes a source of entrapment and the creative process is stifled. Students must emerge from this entrapment and reshape the world for "to exist humanly, is to name the world, to change it" (Freire 76).

In this section of the course, readings are from the works of Scott Momaday, James Baldwin and Janheinz Jahn:

> A word has power in and of itself. It comes from nothing into sound and meaning; it gives origin to all things. By means of words can a man deal with the world on equal terms. And the word is sacred. A man's name is his own; he can keep it or give it away as he likes. (The Way to Rainy Mountain 42)

> There exists in West African life, what I have heard described as the "eight day" ceremony. This ceremony takes place after the birth of the child, eight days later. During this time the father - alone - has to give his child a name. This name is both a gift and a challenge, for it is hoped that the child will make his own some of the positive qualities that the name implies. On the eighth day, in the presence of the village, the child is named. "He lifted up the infant as all watched, whispered three times into his son's ear the name he had chosen for him. It was the first time the name had ever been spoken as this child's name for his people felt that each human being should be the first to know who he was." (Baldwin Review of Roots)

> For a new child becomes a muntu (a complete human being) only when the father or the "sorcerer" gives him a name and pronounces it....A creature which is sharply distinguished from the animal and has its place in the community of men is produced, not by the act of birth, but by the word....All magic is word magic. Through the word man establishes his mastery over things....If there were no word, all forces would be frozen, there would be no procreation, no change, no life. "There is nothing that there is not; whatever we have a name for, this is" so speaks the wisdom of the Yoruba Priest....The force, responsibility and commitment of the word, and the awareness that the word alone alters the world: these are the characteristics of African culture. (Muntu 125-133)

Discussion of the ritual of naming continues with "How God Made the Butterflies," a tale of the creation and naming of butterflies in Black Folk Tales. In the tale, the Lord snips bits and pieces from his creations — sky, ground, trees, animals and flowers. These multi-colored scraps floating in the heavens were named "flutter-bys," by white people. According to the folktale, black people changed the name to butterflies. But "white folks started calling them butterflies, too, and went and stuck it in their dictionary wanting people to believe that they'd had enough sense to think of a word that pretty" (Lester 20).

From a consideration of the importance of naming in the tales of various cultures, students are assigned the task of researching the origin and meaning of their own names. This is a painless way of introducing research techniques and the procedures of documenting sources. As a group, students are taken to the library for a specially tailored class on "the library as a research tool." With their specific assignment in mind, the librarian discusses the methods of research, introducing students to research techniques and general references which can be utilized for research assignments in all subject areas. In their specific papers, students may include familial naming rituals, stories surrounding the choice of the name or even the relationship between personality and denotative meaning. In addition they include information they have found in the library on the meaning of their names, using the MLA Handbook to document their research. The following are unedited excerpts from students' essays written as a response to this assignment:

> Upon my mother's pregnancy, my father gave my mother a book about Greta Garbo. Later on while my mother was carrying the forming child who would later become me, there was a Greta Garbo festival. It was because of these two factors that I was named Greta. (Greta Perr)

> My parents according to their memories, recollected the time that they spent selecting the name of their new baby. They said that they had to select very carefully because to name a baby girl is something delicate. (Patricia Espinosa)

> My mother, brushing away some cobwebs from her memory, recollects the time in which she used to stay up late at night waiting my father's return from work so they could discuss a name for me. My mother was always ashamed of her name which is Dominga, meaning Sunday. Kids would make fun of her name. She promised herself never to give her daughters a name that would make them feel ashamed in any way. My parents finally decided on Sandra because they felt it was a pretty name and many outstanding women had this name. A name is something very special to a person. (Sandra Fabian)

In these excerpts, students have entered into the spirit of the assignment and have captured the magic of the specific word; for example, some of the wonder and mystery of the process of birth is conveyed in "the forming child," the fragility of the naming ritual in "naming a baby girl is something delicate," and the difficulty of retracing one's steps in the past is well stated in the striking quality of the image, "brushing away some cobwebs from her memory."

ILLUSTRATING ABSTRACT CONCEPTS

In addition to generating the writing of purely personal experiences, the folktale is a useful tool in initiating the transformation of the personal narrative into the illustration of an

abstract concept. Students are forced to confront the generality beyond the concrete series of events or happenings. A Caribbean folktale, "The Sea-Mammy," serves as a bridge to the expository process. It begins in this way:

> A hard time it was, a hard time after the hurricane had raged across the land, whipping the sugar-cane, blowing down the bananas, tearing branches from the trees, smashing through the forest to the sound of crashing trunks. The rain pounded down on the fields, scooping the young yams out of the brown earth. Hissing streams washed away the potatoes planted on the hillside. Floods swept away the eddoes and the coco plants in the valley. There was no food. The birds went hungry. Parrots shrieked for food, dogs tried to eat grass, leaves, and roots, and Anansi grew weak. (West Indian Folktales 130)

Students are encouraged to think about this piece of writing metaphorically. For example, the raging hurricane may take forms other than the natural. It may be human destruction, in some way resulting in times of general devastation, or a personal struggle for survival on some level. This is one way of forcing students to think of the abstraction which becomes the thesis, the skeleton of the essay upon which they build.

As part of the discussion of the "The Sea-Mammy," the attention of the students was drawn to the force of the words depicting action and the general vividness and appropriateness of the diction. They were asked to interview their oldest relative asking that person to tell a story of such a time when "the hurricane raged across the land." A description of the teller of the tale would dominate the introduction and the writer must try to capture the essence, or the outstanding qualities of the storyteller. One student of Armenian heritage retold her great-aunt's account of the Armenian massacre. As the student retells the story of the massacre, it is not merely storytelling; the narration becomes the method of illustration as the student contemplates the larger concept of man's fanatical quest for power at the expense of human lives. These are the opening sentences of her story: "There was always an air of sadness surrounding my great-aunt. She loved to knit and crochet and would lay on her bed crocheting bedspreads and telling me stories. When she talked of her country, even after so many years, I could see that there was still terror and sorrow in her eyes." Later in the narrative she writes:

> My aunt said that she witnessed horrors a ten year old child should never see. Blood was everywhere. People walked around looking for water, but all the rivers were bleeding. Pieces of human flesh were on the ground on which she walked. The hurricane of human violence had passed over my aunt's homeland. (Anahid Andrias)

The student has captured quite beautifully the pain in her aunt's remembrance, and following the pattern of the folktale, her use of the hurricane, as an image of the power of violence, is very effective.

In the reading of folktales, students observe the lack of extensive physical description, the way in which only important features are stressed in establishing personality, and the fact that human characters think, talk and act in identifiably realistic ways. In her writing, this student bravely attempts to master these elements, and succeeds. This mastery becomes more than a possibility when beginning writers are introduced to the world of literature through folktales.

In addition to the interest the tales elicit, because they are of the oral tradition, lengthy and involved sentences simply do not occur. These tales become an important teaching tool for beginning writers who struggle to control the structure of their sentences. The following sample of student writing is a variation on the last exercise. The student retells a tale and describes the teller of the tale, but in this case the tale is about animals. This is the first draft of her introduction:

> I see my grandmother now. She is sitting on the two steps of her bare house in Haiti. In the yard, the chickens are searching for food without aim. My grandmother loves to tell stories. She tells stories about animals. One day she told me how cats and dogs became enemies

It was suggested to the student that she consider the exact meaning of the action in sentence two, and attempt to combine the sentences, not because what she had written was incorrect, but as an exercise in eliminating the staccato effect of the simple sentence. She would keep the simple sentence structure for the animal tale. Following is a revision of the introduction:

> I can see my grandmother now as she sits on one of the two steps of her bare house in Haiti. Her dark skin glows in Haiti's sunlight, and I sit at her feet while around us the chickens are searching for food aimlessly. My grandmother loves to tell stories about animals. One day she told me how cats and dogs became enemies. (Francoise Forbin)

In the revised version, the student has carefully combined related sentence elements.

SHARING CULTURES THROUGH SHARING WRITING

To make this kind of writing as powerful and as helpful as it can be in the classroom, it is essential that the students' work becomes a public experience. This writing lends itself perfectly to being read aloud and discussed, and as the process of revision goes on, the students are engaged in a much deeper experience; they learn to enjoy and value each other's cultural worlds and respect the differences among them. The silence is broken; students from Haiti, Russia, China, Peru, students from disparate cultural backgrounds have become critical readers who discuss each other's writing.

Because folktales originate in the beliefs, customs and traditions of various peoples, their study fosters a spirit of community. Inevitably a union of purposes emerges in the classroom, for according to Ong, "writing introduces division and alienation, but a higher unity as well. It intensifies the sense of self and fosters more conscious interaction between persons. Writing is consciousness-raising" (179). Beginning writers are encouraged to share not only their triumphs and frustrations with the act of composition, but also their efforts to understand a new culture. In addition, the skills students acquire as they interpret and analyze folktales can be applied to their analysis of other literary works.

Folktales should never be taught as simple stories for uninitiated readers of literature; for they express, without adornment, the essential soul of a culture. They must be presented as small worlds of literary perfection that hold within them the perceptions and skills of all literature.

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ISSUES TO BE CONSIDERED WHEN PRACTICING CAREER COUNSELING WITH ADULT HISPANIC STUDENTS

LILIA ROSADO

Hostos Community College, located in the South Bronx, draws a large percentage of its student population from the surrounding pool of Hispanic residents of this neighborhood. Many students were born and reared in Puerto Rico or the Dominican Republic. Others come from numerous Caribbean and South American countries. The typical College Discovery student is a female in her late 20's or early 30's, a single mother whose income is frequently below the poverty line. Numerous students in this group have obtained a General Equivalency Diploma (G.E.D.) since they did not complete high school.

As a College Discovery counselor at Hostos Community College, I have come to appreciate the fact that students need to be helped not only in the areas of personal or academic problems, but also in the central issue of choosing a career. This exploration is a very useful process for students because they learn skills such as gathering and analyzing data which they can utilize both as college students and later on in their place of employment. It also has been a worthwhile experience for me since it has helped me focus on some of the issues that arise in this situation. For example, I have become increasingly aware of the need to communicate career information to students in a clear and concise manner and to develop effective strategies that may be used to convey this information. In addition, I have become cognizant of the roles of motivation, age, the family, and the welfare system as they affect career choice.

COMMUNICATING CAREER INFORMATION

The first issue to be considered is how to communicate career information to these students. At Hostos, freshmen students are assigned to an English or Spanish College Orientation course depending on their level of ability in the English language. Besides becoming acquainted with the college system and covering other standard college orientation themes such as study skills and test-taking strategies, they receive career information from the counselors who teach this class. Career material is included in the Spanish as well as the English version of the Orientation Workbook. This consists not only of academic information regarding the requirements to be met in order to be accepted in specific career programs at Hostos, but also of self-exploratory tools such as values and abilities inventories.

For a number of reasons, the College Orientation course may not convey sufficient career information to the Spanish-speaking students. First, since it meets only once a week for one semester, and a great deal of subject matter has to be discussed during this time, it is frequently the case that counselors cover this area in only a limited fashion. Also, since many Hostos students start in the elementary courses of the English as a Second Language (ESL) sequence, they are unable to do certain types of career research on their own. For example, they cannot avail themselves of the computerized exploratory programs such as Discover II provided by the Career and Placement (C&P) office until they achieve placement in an advanced ESL course. They are often unable to understand the assorted information available at this office. For example, a book such as the Occupational Outlook Handbook, published on a yearly basis by the U.S. Department of Labor, provides valuable and detailed information regarding future

employment trends, educational background needed for specific occupations, places of employment, and salary. This means that counselors must be available both at the C&P office and the counseling office to help these students process this type of information.

Organizing Career Exploration Workshops and making them available to freshmen students is a useful strategy. In these workshops students can learn effective decision-making skills and learn how to relate their interests and skills to a specific career choice. This initial exploration should be followed by individual counseling in order to allow them to practice the skills that they have learned. However, in this type of situation the counselor is faced with the sometimes difficult task of translating career-related material in order to make it available to Hispanic students. Despite these difficulties, it is important that they be provided with the opportunity for self-exploration and the acquisition of valuable knowledge regarding the world of work in the United States. Having such knowledge available in a timely fashion will prevent students from "wandering" through career programs and taking unnecessary courses while using up their financial aid allotments.

It should be noted that many of these students, because they were brought up outside of the United States in countries with different educational systems and job requirements, may not have an accurate picture of what is needed to pursue a specific career in terms of education and job requirements. For example, a student may initially believe that with a two-year Early Childhood Education degree from Hostos she may eventually work in a high school setting, or that majoring in Public Administration (a two-year program at Hostos that prepares students for employment as managers and supervisors in both the public and private sector and community organizations) may enable her to function as a social worker. In both these examples, once she is confronted by the counselor with the realistic educational requirements for these careers, the student will, of course, have to develop a long-term plan. The fact that she may have to spend many years in college before attaining her goal may be a shock to the student who had initially planned two or three years of study. But the counselor may reassure the student and encourage her to pursue the career which seems best suited for her.

A responsible choice of a specific career path is a strong motivating factor for students. In view of the large dropout rate in many community colleges, it is essential that students start focusing on this process very early in their college life. For students such as those at Hostos who may have to complete several semesters of ESL courses before they are admitted into a specific career program, it is especially important to begin this exploratory process early in order to establish long-term goals for their education. The acceptance of this type of planning may help assuage the feelings of some of these students that they are "wasting" time (in ESL courses) and, perhaps, help reduce the dropout rate.

FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCE CAREER CHOICE

In order to be most able to help adult Hispanic students, counselors must be aware of several factors which bear on their career choices. One factor that frequently emerges is that of age. Due to family obligations, many of the Hispanic, adult students at Hostos feel they cannot afford to choose a career that will involve many years of education and training. The counselor should discuss with the students the advantages and disadvantages of following either a long-term or short-term career path. This should include financial aid resources, opportunities for advancement, and strategies to deal with demands placed on them by their family in terms of time, child-care, financial support, and relationships. Despite the fact that these adult students have so many factors impacting their career choice, the counselor should avoid the temptation of steering most of them away from lengthy career paths. On the other hand, the counselor must

work carefully with adult students to find a career path students feel confident they can complete.

Many Hispanic students, particularly women, frequently place very little value on their past work experience. To the question, "Do you have any work experience?" they frequently deny they have ever worked or tend to dismiss their work history as irrelevant, especially if they have been employed in low-status jobs. A skilled counselor could help students focus on their past work experience in order to ascertain which work-related skills they have already acquired. With an enhanced feeling of self worth these students will feel more confident in taking an active part in the career choice process.

Many of these students face either indifference or opposition from their families regarding their decision to attend college. In some cases, women students have had to wait until their children were older or their husbands gave them "permission" to go back to school. Therefore, providing them with career information and teaching them decision-making skills may not be enough to help them in this process. They need a very supportive counseling environment to relieve the anxiety involved in making an independent choice, one that may have serious implications for their families.

Many students at Hostos depend on Public Assistance for their subsistence; 50% of College Discovery students at Hostos receive this type of help. Since Public Assistance will not pay training expenses for four-year programs or non-vocational two-year programs, students are pressured to choose careers that involve only two years of training. As a result, they frequently choose a specific career before they have acquired enough information and the skills needed to make a wise choice. Counselors should emphasize the possibility of continuing their education once they have graduated and have obtained a job in their field. For example, many employers will cover all or part of certain educational expenses of their employees. This type of information may help diminish the feelings of helplessness and inability to control one's destiny that the social welfare system frequently fosters.

CONCLUSIONS

When dealing with Special Programs students who fit the above-described profile, we should not wait until they have acquired advanced English language skills to start the process of exploring career options. Rather, we should expose them to this exciting and rewarding experience very early in their college careers and help them handle issues which may interfere in this process. Hopefully, this will increase the number of students who remain in school until they have obtained the skills needed to compete on an equal basis in the U.S. job market.

Career counseling with this group of students has been and continues to be an exploratory process for me. I would, therefore, welcome any comments or suggestions readers may have based on their own particular experience.

CULTURAL INTERFERENCE IN PEER-TUTORING SITUATIONS

JANET MOSER
MARK PATKOWSKI

Recently, as teachers in the Brooklyn College English as a Second Language Program (ESL), we were invited to address tutors at the Writing Center. The Writing Center is a drop-in center where any student can come for tutoring either voluntarily or through a referral from a professor. The tutors at the Center are all currently-enrolled undergraduate students who work on an individual basis with their peers, most of whom are native-language speakers. As part of the tutor training process, the Director of the Writing Center had asked us to lead a workshop session centered on the topic of how to work more effectively with the ESL students who come to the Center for help with their writing. Our intention was to expose the tutors to some of the basic concepts of second-language acquisition theory which have been developed in the last fifteen or so years. We hoped that these concepts might have some practical relevance to the tutors in their dealings with ESL students.

First, however, we asked the student tutors what they found most different or difficult about working with ESL students. The group (about 20) was not reticent in sharing thoughts with us. Here is a sampling of reactions:

> They have so very many problems; I don't feel I know enough about the tenses to teach verbs, even though I know I use verbs correctly, since I am a native speaker of English.
>
> I feel overwhelmed sometimes; everything seems to need work.
>
> What do you do with technically correct but unidiomatic language?
>
> I think it is really important to know something about their first language. Students from specific backgrounds make specific errors. This will determine your approach.
>
> They think of us as teachers; if we try to talk them, to get to know them a bit, they'll say, "I didn't come here to talk but to improve my composition."
>
> We have so little in common, nothing to talk about.
>
> One of my students never uses English outside of the classroom or of the tutorial; how can he ever make any progress?
>
> You can't tell ESL students that something sounds right, or doesn't sound right; they just don't hear the difference.
>
> It's very difficult to diagnose ESL students; are they not generating ideas, or is their grammar just getting in the way of expressing their ideas?

Our eagerness to meet with the tutors had grown, in part, from the reports we had gotten from ESL students who had been referred to the Writing Center. While not as explicit as the remarks from the tutors, some ESL students complaints were of a general uneasy feeling when they visited the Writing Center. As instructors with sympathies for both the cultural and

linguistic needs of our students as well as for the problems that tutors might encounter in their task, we felt that we were in a unique position to help bridge the gap between these two groups.

TWO MODELS OF LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

We had come to this meeting prepared to discuss recent theories of second-language acquisition and their practical application to concrete examples taken from ESL student writing. After listening to the reactions of the tutors, it became apparent to us that, while their comments may have emphasized difficulties in different aspects of language learning, there was a shared underlying concern in their remarks. These tutors had worked successfully and comfortably with native American remedial students who, in many cases, had severe composing problems. Yet, many tutors seemed to feel disillusioned and overwhelmed by the extent and complexity of the errors in some ESL writing samples. As we talked more, it became clear that the form of this particular student-tutor relationship was determined not only by linguistic factors, but also to a large extent by affective ones. Based on the preliminary open discussion, we shifted the focus of our talk to the theories that we thought best spoke to the linguistic and affective concerns that had been expressed.

The Monitor Model: Acquisition and Learning. We discussed Krashen's monitor theory (1981), which holds that language is acquired through two separate processes: a) conscious, formal learning of rules (the "monitor") and b) subconscious acquisition of language in a naturalistic manner akin to that of children acquiring their first language. Krashen holds that the monitor can only accomplish so much; most language learning, he states, results from the subconscious acquisition process. This means that many rules should not and probably cannot be taught in a formal manner. Our tutors ought not, therefore, to worry unduly about prepositions and other difficult-to-teach-and/or-learn rules of the language. On the other hand, some rules are more amenable to formal instruction; we suggested punctuation and tense sequence as examples.

Social and Psychological Distance: Acculturation Theory. We discussed the importance of attitudinal and motivational factors. We briefly explored Schumann's theory of acculturation (1978), which holds that the process of adapting to a new culture and of learning a new language is likely dependent upon social and psychological factors. In particular, we discussed Schumann's concepts of social and psychological "distance". The first term refers to the distance between social groups---the social group to which the learner belongs, on the one hand, and the social group that the target language represents, on the other. The second term refers to the distance between the individual learner and the culture represented by the target language. Schumann hypothesizes that an "optimal" social and psychological distance is required for acculturation and second language acquisition to proceed successfully. Indeed, where the distance is not optimal, incorrect linguistic forms will tend to persist indefinitely, a process referred to as "fossilization," leaving the learner stuck at an inadequate level of linguistic development in the second language.

USING THE TWO MODELS IN TUTORING

Next, we asked tutors what approaches they had tried with ESL students. We found that some tutors had instinctively come upon methods that resulted in lowering the affective filter and decreasing psychological and social distance. We were able, with the help of the tutors' own suggestions, to agree on several prescriptive techniques using the monitor and acculturation theories.

1. Even though some tutors reacted very positively to working with ESL students ("I love ESL students; they have very strong and different opinions."; "I think they're more open and receptive than native students."), for those who felt that the lack of common cultural experiences presented an obstacle, we suggested a different perspective. Why not welcome these cultural differences as a source of learning and enrichment? There are things to talk about, both those that are shared (e.g., you're all attending the same college, living in the same city, riding the same subways and buses) and those that are not (tell them about American practices they may not be familiar with; inquire about customs from their own backgrounds.) As peer tutors, you are in a better position to work on their affective filters than we teachers are.

2. Give the ESL student a lot of holistic practice. Some tutors had been doing this already:

   I like to let them talk about their essay, then rewrite it, read the draft, talk some more, rewrite, etc.

   I let them express themselves; the grammar will take care of itself later on.

   We recommended that this basic approach be tried at least once by those experiencing difficulties in tutoring ESL students. Let students read their text out loud, discuss and rewrite the drafts, focusing on the meaning. Encourage students to read. Tell them what native students read for pleasure.

3. You can't correct everything at once; just concentrate on one or two specific areas at a time for formal study of grammatical rules. This makes it easier for both the tutor, who does not need an encyclopedic knowledge of English grammar to function effectively, and for the tutee, whose "monitor" can only learn so many formal rules anyway.

After we finished, there was some applause. Someone said, "This is the first time there's been clapping here in a long time." We felt that the tutors, too, deserved applause. Because of the honesty and sincerity of their comments, we were able to direct the focus of our discussion to what we came to feel was a significant obstacle in the relationship of ESL students and tutors. Cultural differences, rather than enriching this relationship, had interfered with some aspects of its functioning. Indeed, the concept of a peer tutor is as unfamiliar to many ESL students as the formality that ESL students bring to this casual setting is to native language tutors. We hoped that the open exchange of ideas between ESL instructors and tutors would lead to a better understanding, both of what our ESL students bring to and expect from the tutoring situation, and what tutors themselves might do to make their own efforts with ESL students more successful.

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COLLEGE AND CAREER GUIDANCE WORKSHOP FOR AT-RISK HISPANIC HIGH SCHOOL GIRLS

CAROLE CILENTO

Many Hispanic students, particularly females, are at great risk of dropping out of high school and finding themselves in low-paying jobs or on public assistance. Those who do finish high school often do not go to college. Recent articles in the press and in college admissions-related publications such as The Peterson Letter, ETS Developments and The College Board News, have discussed the dwindling numbers of Hispanic women attending college, their low performance on the SAT's and their concentration in low-level jobs. In addition, many of the Hispanic girls I encountered as the College and Career Counselor at Theodore Roosevelt High School in the Bronx, one of the five high schools in the CUNY/Board of Education College Discovery and Development Program, have no career plan in mind, little knowledge of the post-high school career or college options available to them, and, more often than not, no one in their families to advise them adequately about college and career planning.

Based on this information I felt there was a need to do more intensive individual and group counseling with Hispanic girls to explore their levels of career aspirations and to encourage them to complete high school and attend college. In the Spring of 1987 I received a small grant from City College's Stay-in-School Partnership Program with the New York City Public High Schools. My project was to do research on the career and educational attainment levels of Hispanic women and use that information to set up a career guidance program for "at risk" Hispanic females.

OVERVIEW OF THE EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENTS OF HISPANIC FEMALES

Studies and statistics show that the educational attainment levels of Hispanic students are lower than the rest of the population. According to a study released by the National Council of La Raza, an advocacy group for Hispanic-Americans, Hispanic children are the most undereducated group in this county, characterized by high dropout rates, stunted dreams of college, and sixteen-year-olds who are just starting high school (Phi Delta Kappan, 1985). A recent report prepared by the New York State Board of Regents cites a "disproportionately high rate of noncompletion" among Black and Hispanic students, and a declining number of those who do complete high school are going to college. The Hispanic rate of high school graduates going to college fell from 35% in 1978 to 31.4% in 1984 (Carmody, April 26, 1987).

Hispanic women have completed fewer years of school than all women. According to a United States Department of Labor Fact Sheet (November 1985), in March 1985, Hispanic females had completed 11.6 years of school, compared with 12.5 for all women. The median years of school completed by Hispanic women in the labor force rose from 12.1 years in 1975 to 12.3 years in March 1985. The median educational attainment of all women in the labor force was 12.8 years in 1985.

Among Hispanic students of both sexes enrollment in higher education, although rising slightly, lags far behind their overall representation in the population. Figures released in March of 1988 by the Department of Education show that, while Hispanic enrollment in American colleges is increasing, the gains are not keeping pace with population increases. According to the Bureau of the Census, the number of Hispanic-Americans who are 18 to 24 years old, the age group where college students are concentrated, grew by 62 percent over the last decade, from 1,551,000 in 1976 to 2,513,000 in 1986. The number of Hispanic-Americans who were enrolled in college increased by only 43 percent, to 433,000 from 309,000 (Fiske, March, 1988). Forty-three percent of those Hispanic students who are in college are enrolled in community colleges rather than four-year institutions that open doors to graduate and professional studies (Fiske, March, 1988).

High school girls get lower scores than boys on the Scholastic Aptitude Test. As a result, they are put at a disadvantage in the competition to gain college admission and entrance into many of the special programs for gifted and talented high school students. Furthermore, they are less likely to be able to obtain the financial aid that is available from corporations, government agencies, and charitable foundations. This has particular significance for Hispanic females since their SAT scores are among the lowest of all groups tested. The national average SAT score for females is 877 compared with 938 for males. Puerto Rican females scored among the lowest of all groups tested with an average score of 744 (Carmody, April 17, 1987).

JOBS AND INCOMES OF HISPANIC WOMEN

Given the above statistics, it is not surprising that most Puerto Rican women are not pursuing careers that demand an education beyond high school. According to 1980's statistics, Puerto Rican families are among the poorest in the U.S. Among Latinos, Puerto Ricans have the lowest per capita income level. Puerto Rican women have the lowest labor participation rate of all women on a national level. In New York City alone, 30 percent of Puerto Rican families are receiving welfare and 50% of all Puerto Rican families are headed by single parent women. (National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights, 1985). In New York City, the poverty rate was highest among Hispanic people (43% overall, and 48% for Puerto Ricans). Nearly two-thirds of all families headed by women were poor. The number of Hispanic families headed by women was 60% in 1986; the poverty rate among those families was 80%. Hispanic mothers were less likely to be in the labor force than all mothers. Among Hispanic families, the proportion maintained by women was noticeably higher for Puerto Ricans--about 40 percent--than for other Hispanic groups (U.S. Department of Labor Fact Sheet, 85-11). Since many Hispanic women are not completing high school and attending college, those who work outside their own homes tend to be at the very bottom of the nation's salary scales. The 1984 median income of Hispanic women with year-round, full-time jobs was $13,027 compared with $15,422 for all women.

Women of Hispanic origin were employed as operators, fabricators, and laborers and service and precision, production craft, and repair occupations to a greater extent than all women workers. Twelve percent of Hispanic women workers were employed in managerial and professional specialty occupations in 1984 compared with 22.5 percent for all women (U.S. Department of Labor Fact Sheet, 85-11).

These statistics show that although many Hispanic girls in inner city high schools know women in their neighborhoods and families who head households or hold jobs outside the homes,

they have few female role models who have attained higher education or professional careers. This would serve to put a damper on their educational and career aspirations. In addition, there may be cultural influences which create conflicts in this area. Like the majority of women, Hispanic women tend to be raised to value their roles as wives and mothers over other roles and to expect men to be the primary wage earners in the family. My contact with the students at Theodore Roosevelt indicates that, indeed, these influences are very strong in the Latin culture, leaving these girls with marriage and family as a primary goal and with less developed ideas about education and careers.

PHILOSOPHY AND FORMAT OF THE GROUP GUIDANCE SESSIONS

The facts gathered in my research pointed to two problems that could be addressed by College and Career Guidance Workshops. First, many Hispanic female students lack access to information about higher education and careers which depend on higher education because their families and community may not have access to such information. Second, such students may experience conflicts within themselves and their families over higher education and careers because their culture tends to support a more traditional role for women. Thus, the group guidance sessions would not only cover college and career information, but also focus on and integrate within the scheduled topics the particular problems of growing up female in such a culture.

The Group met once a week for a forty minute period in the College Office where we had access to college catalogs and guidebooks, career files, SAT applications and study guides, and Metroguide, a computer-based career guidance system. I wanted a group of at least eight girls, but not more than twelve. I chose girls who, based on my research and findings, were particularly at risk of not completing high school, not attending college and ending up in dead-end jobs. The participants were girls who all were juniors of Puerto Rican background, who would be the first female in their family to complete high school and possibly attend college, and who lived with a single parent mother on public assistance who had not completed more than the tenth grade. There were many girls with this profile at Theodore Roosevelt. The girls seemed enthusiastic to participate since, as juniors, they had already completed two or more years of high school and they were thinking of going on to college, but they were confused about the process. I chose a group of juniors because I hoped to work more closely with them the following year as seniors to put into action the topics and strategies discussed in our group meetings.

The Group met for ten sessions from April to mid-June. We began with twelve girls, but ended with ten who consistently came to the meetings. Sometimes the girls came for a few sessions to listen or participate. It was rather informal. Refreshments were always served. The topics of the sessions were as follows:

1. Introductions and discussion of possible session topics.
2. Types of colleges and degrees available.
3. Choosing a career.
4. Facts and statistics about women workers, especially Hispanic women.

5. Applying to college and taking the SAT's.

6. Obtaining financial assistance including SEEK, College Discovery, EOP, HEOP, and special scholarships available to Hispanic students such as the National Hispanic Scholar Awards or the Puerto Rican Educators Association Scholarships.

7. The effects of family and Latin culture on education and career choice.

8. Hispanic women's role model panel.

9. College-related programs which take place over the summer.

10. Evaluation of the Group Guidance Sessions.

Students were encouraged to attend college- and career-oriented enrichment activities sponsored by Roosevelt and by outside agencies such as the ASPIRA College Fair, a Science Career Day trip to Manhattan College, a College Bound College Fair at New York University, a bus trip to SUNY New Paltz, and a school trip to tour and learn about different jobs at the W.R. Grace Company. Most of the girls attended at least one of these activities if it did not conflict with their part-time jobs.

HISPANIC WOMEN'S ROLE MODEL PANEL

One of the sessions offered was an Hispanic Women's Role Model Panel which lasted two periods. Here successful Hispanic women discussed their roads to higher education and financial independence as well as the difficulties associated with combining careers and children, divorce, discrimination in the work force and meeting compatible Hispanic men. One woman was the Assistant Director of Personnel at a major bank. Although she was in her late 30's, she had only recently received a B.A from Baruch. She married right after high school and soon had two children. To help pay the bills, she took a clerical job at the bank and found that she liked working with people and in the financial sphere. She began to attend evening classes at Baruch, despite her husband's opposition. Her marriage soon ended. Nevertheless, she continued to work full-time and to study at night. She received several promotions. She stressed the fact, however, that she would not have been able to succeed without the help and support of her mother who not only watched her children when they came home from school, but who also gave her constant encouragement and moral support. Recently remarried, she described her new husband as a terrific, sensitive and supportive man. Her oldest child, a daughter, was scheduled to enter college the next fall.

The other speakers were an accountant with a Fortune 500 company, a director of a social service foundation, and a dean at a CUNY community college. In most cases, the women discussed how their education and careers were often interrupted by personal and family responsibilities, and that their road to success did not always follow a straight course.

This Hispanic Female Role Model session was wonderful. The girls lingered afterwards to speak with the panel members. Phone numbers were exchanged and the speakers all offered to serve as mentors to the girls and to come again for another panel.

FINAL SESSIONS AND EVALUATION

The next to last session was devoted to planning for the summer vacation. I invited speakers from the Union Settlement Program which provides English, Mathematics, and SAT tutorials at Columbia University during the summer. The presenters were Puerto Rican. They, too, spoke about their personal lives, paths to higher education, and future goals. Other college-related summer programs were discussed as well as job possibilities.

The last session consisted of a small party and an evaluation questionnaire. The evaluation responses and personal exchanges with the girls in individual counseling sessions indicate that they all benefited from the group. They felt they learned a great deal, and they also formed friendships with each other. One student, Sonia, replied, "Now I finally know the difference between a college and a university." Mirta responded "We should have had these groups a long time ago," and Gloria wrote, "I liked it because it was all girls to begin with which made it different. I felt freer to talk. Without the Group, I would probably pick a college because my friend said it was cool."

ENHANCING COLLEGE AND CAREER GUIDANCE FOR HISPANIC GIRLS

I was very pleased with the good attendance, avid participation and easy camaraderie of the group members. A disappointment was that none of the mothers came to any of the sessions. A letter was sent in Spanish and English inviting the mothers to the meetings, and to the role model panel. My intentions were to initiate some meaningful mother-daughter dialogue, to help them understand the college application process and support their daughters' college and career goals, and possibly to encourage the mothers to continue their own education. Gloria told me that her mother wanted to come, but that she felt funny since she did not speak English very well, and Ana said her mother would come only if other mothers came. For a future group I plan to invite the mothers to an introductory meeting with refreshments and light conversation so that they can meet one another, speak Spanish, and hopefully feel more comfortable.

Interventions such as this should begin even earlier than high school. Thomas Hilton, an Educational Testing Service researcher, recommends a massive effort to fortify preparation of Black and Hispanic students at the elementary and secondary levels. Along with that, he recommends beginning career counseling early, saying, "Career counseling is especially important early on, when a youngster might perhaps be encouraged to take algebra instead of business arithmetic" (Cardoza, 1986). On the high school level, in addition to the type of career guidance group described and role model panels, successful Hispanic girls who graduated from Roosevelt who are attending college or who have graduated from college should be asked to visit, give talks and serve as friends and mentors to the younger girls.

OUTCOMES OF THE GROUP

As of Spring 1988, eight of the ten girls from the Group had applied and were planning to attend college in the Fall. Most had taken the SAT's, attended college fairs, and applied to a variety of colleges. One student, however, one of the highest ranking in the school, became pregnant and left school in December. Due to failing grades, another girl was placed back in a

junior class in February, and she planned to join the Navy. Three girls had chosen to live on campus: Lori to study physical education through the HEOP program at Marist College, Ana to study business administration through the HEOP program at Daemen College, and Susan to study political science at Fordham University under the HEOP program. Dejanira was accepted into HEOP at New York University, but was undecided about a major. Mirta palnned to attend Lehman under the SEEK program and to study business management. Virginia wanted to study office management through Baruch's SEEK program. Carmen was accepted under regular admission into City College where she hoped to study pre-dentistry and Gloria, regularly admitted to Lehman, was thinking of law. I do not know whether the girls would have chosen these options without our Group, but I am sure that the college and career exploration process opened up possibilities they would not have known about otherwise and eased their path toward making a choice.

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CULTURAL IDENTITY AND VALUE ORIENTATIONS OF ISLAND AND MAINLAND COLLEGE FRESHMAN PUERTO RICANS

DIEGO COLON[1]

An apparent dichotomy in cultural identity and value orientations for Puerto Rican students began to intrigue me in my work in the College Discovery Program of Bilingual Studies at Kingsborough Community College. In a number of counseling sessions I noticed that the value orientations manifested by students took different forms depending on whether they were born and raised in Puerto Rico or in New York City. For instance, as illustrated by the following quote, Puerto Rican students living on the U.S. mainland seemed caught in a cultural dichotomy:

> I was born and raised in this city and, although I don't look like an Anglo and although at times I have been rejected, I think, talk and behave like an American. I wouldn't like to be identified as a Puerto Rican, I want to be known as an American. I don't like to speak Spanish, I don't get along well with my parents, I don't like their lifeviews, they don't understand me. I want to move out of my home. If I say that I am Puerto Rican and speak Spanish, I may be discriminated against and I want to make it.

On the other hand, Puerto Rican students who have arrived on the mainland recently clearly value their Puerto Rican cultural identity. Here are three statements in which those students characterize themselves.

> My parents are the most significant ones for me. I owe my parents everything and I'm looking forward to helping them. We are proud of being Puerto Rican. We have a great heritage and our history and culture is very unique.

> I have been alienated at school. Most teachers ignore you if they hear you talking Spanish. I feel things I learned at school are against what my parents have taught me. I feel in a situation of making a choice between my family and the school.

> I don't want to be like the Anglos because they don't like anybody who is different and just care about themselves and making money.

In order to explore these observations and their implications I developed a research design to study value orientations of island and mainland freshman Puerto Rican students.

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[1]This paper is based on the author's Ph.D dissertation which is entitled "Relational Value Orientations and Achievement Potential Modes of Mainland and Island College Freshman Puerto Ricans." The author and editors wish to thank Anthony Simoes of New York University and Barbara Sjostrom of The State University of New York at Old Westbury for their input into this paper.

Value orientations have been examined by social scientists for over 25 years but there has been little research on how they are manifested in Puerto Rican students in either the island or the mainland context. For educators who work in a teaching, counseling, or tutoring capacity with Puerto Rican students, however, it is important to know what cultural values may be influencing their achievement. The present study was designed to examine cultural values in Puerto Rican students in hopes of finding clues to the academic patterns which current literature shows for Puerto Rican students (Tormes, 1985). The major hypothesis of the study is that Puerto Rican students born and reared within the United States will hold value orientations (principles that guide their behaviors) different from Puerto Rican students born and reared within the island of Puerto Rico. Specifically, mainlanders, in keeping with mainland United States culture and schooling, will show a preference for individualistic solutions while islanders, in keeping with Puerto Rican culture and schooling, will be more oriented toward family and community.

The expectation that Puerto Rican students raised on the mainland will be individualistically oriented is based on the fact that they are socialized from an early age into the cultural norms of the United States through mass media, schools, and other institutions. However, they are exposed earlier and more frequently during their upbringing to their parents' and ethnic community's cultural norms which reflect an orientation toward family and community and working cooperatively. This exposure to two different cultures may create a bicultural situation in which the student is forced to choose values taught in school over those taught at home in order to succeed because the school offers only one path to success. On the other hand, students raised on the Island are probably not faced with such a choice since the values which guide their schools are congruent with the cultural values they are taught at home. It is the purpose of this study to see which value orientations will be expressed by students raised in each of these two cultural situations in hopes of finding clues to how values influence achievement behaviors of Puerto Rican college students.

BACKGROUND

Value Orientations

Many studies have been conducted that deal with the differences in value orientations across cultures (Kluckhohn, 1951; Schemerhorn, 1970; Simoes, 1971; O'Flannery, 1972; Wurzel, 1979; Portes, 1980; Sjostrom, 1983). Value orientations refer to principles that guide human conduct. These researchers contend that the closeness of fit between the immigrant and host societal value orientations is a variable in the rate of acculturation for the immigrant, whereby the closer the fit, the more rapid the acculturation. Most investigators of culture contact assume that acculturation leads to assimilation or integration. This could occur through the absorption of one culture into another, usually the migrant or minority group into the dominant one (Doob, 1960; Lieberson, 1961; Gordon, 1964) or through the development of a new culture which responds to the needs of both groups and which has characteristics taken from the interacting cultures (Redfield, 1936; Humphrey, 1943; Pederson, 1950; Lieberson, 1961; Blane & Yamamoto, 1978). In sociology this latter phenomenon is usually referred to as cultural pluralism, the result of the selective retention from the migrant's culture and selective acquisition from host's culture of those cultural behaviors and values which are most meaningful to the migrant (Ginorio, 1979).

The subject of variations in value orientations was researched initially by F. Kluckhohn (1961), who postulated a theory based on the works of Parsons and C. Kluckhohn. F. Kluckhohn (1961) postulated that all or almost all aspects of the social life of a people give expression in varying ways and varying degrees to be sure, to the basic values which are characteristic of one culture as opposed to another. She then, in collaboration with F. Strodbeck, developed an instrument for systematically measuring the similarities and differences in value orientation preferences within a particular group and between two or more cultural groups. The instrument, known as the a the Kluckhohn Value Orientation Schedule (KVOS) was field-tested with several ethnic groups in the Southwest,which include a Texas homestead community, a Morman Village, Navajo tribe of the Zuni Pueblo, and a group of Spanish-Americans from the village of Atrisco, New Mexico, in order to ascertain the existence of patterns of variations among people of different cultures and sub-cultures. The findings supported the contention of within-group consensus and between-group differences and among groups investigated.

The KVOS deals with four basic value areas that are central to human groups. They are summarized by the following questions:

1. What is the relation of man to nature ? (Man-Nature orientation);

2. What is the temporal focus of human life ? (Time-orientation);

3. What is the modality of human activity ? (Activity orientation);

4. What is the modality of peoples relationship to others? (Relational orientation).

Table 1 illustrates the four value orientations utilized in Kluckhohn Value Orientation Schedule and the range of variations postulated for each.

Table 1

The Four Value Orientations and the Range of Variations Postulated for Each

ORIENTATION	POSTULATED RANGE OF VARIATIONS		
People-Nature	Subjugation-to-Nature	Harmony-with-Nature	Mastery-over-Nature
Time	Past	Present	Future
Activity	Being	Being-in-Becoming	Doing
Relational	Lineality	Collaterality	Individuality

Based on observations and conversations with college students, it was decided that their relational value orientations should be the focus of this study. This orientation defines the individual's relationship to others and provides three alternatives: lineal, collateral, and individualistic. When the lineal alternative is dominant, there is a priority placed on ordered positional succession (Kluckhohn, 1961). Lineality prevails in societies where roles are ascribed and representative. A person who is linealistically oriented tends to look to authority figures and leaders within the community in search of solutions for common human problems. A collateral orientation calls for a primacy of goals and welfare of the laterally extended group. The individual is not a human being except insofar as he or she is part of a social group. The collateralistically oriented person tends to look to family and friends for solutions to common human problems. When the individualistic value orientation is dominant, individual goals have primacy over the goals of the group, and each individual's responsibility to the total society and his or her place in it are defined in terms of self benefit. The individualistically oriented person looks to him or herself to determine solutions to common human problems.

Several studies using the KVOS indicate that students who are not born and raised in the United States respond differently to relational value orientation questions than do American born students and, furthermore, that attending American schools may influence the values of students from other cultures. In a study of informational systems and value orientations of Portuguese, Portuguese-American and American students Simoes (1981) found that cultural and chronological age seem to be variables that determine value orientations in the Kluckhohn Inventory. He further concluded that the relational value orientations data directs the Portuguese sample in the area of lineality. The responses given by the Portugese students favor a situation in which the leader keeps the society and/or family together. In contrast, the American and Portuguese-American groups emphasize the theme of working together (collaterality) or being your own boss, and of doing what you want to do, (individuality). Simoes

(1981) concluded that children with different cultural backgrounds do have different approaches to society.

Wurzel (1979) found statistically significant differences on mean scores of the lineality and individuality subdivisions on relational value orientations between Puerto Rican and Anglo-American sixth and seventh grade students. Puerto Ricans ranked higher on lineality while Anglo Americans ranked higher on individuality.

Sjostrom (1983) in the most recent comparative study on the value orientations of three groups of college students - American, islander, and mainlander Puerto Ricans - found similarities between islander and mainlander Puerto Ricans. Both islanders and mainlanders ranked highest on collateralistic orientation and next highest on individualistic orientation. Apparently they are moving from a collateralistic (cooperative) to an individualistic orientation. Americans (all cultural groups other than Puerto Ricans) ranked highest on individualistic value orientations.

Kluckhohn, Simoes, Wurzel, and Sjostrom contend that linealistic value orientations are related to a more rural upbringing in a traditional social structure while individualistic value orientations are more closely tied to urbanism and industrialism.

My observations of the Puerto Rican and New York education systems as well as the work of other researchers indicate that schooling plays a vital role in creating differences found in these studies. The socialization processes inherent in the United States schools foster the dominant value orientations of the American society. Public education in the United States, historically, has served the dual function of transmitting knowledge and culture deemed necessary for adult participation with U.S. society. An important role of schooling during this century, consequently, has been that of fostering the acculturation of the diverse immigrant groups whose descendants are being instructed in American values through the school system (Greer, 1974; Tyack, 1974). The school systems of New York City and Puerto Rico differ in language of instruction, curriculum goals and content, methodology, course of study, physical plants, equipment and environment (Brameld, 1958; Gomez and Cruz, 1970; Epstein, 1970; Seda-Bonilla, 1973). Most important for this study is that mainland and island schools reinforce contrasting values. For example, the value placed on competition in USA schools emphasizing excelling for self seems to contradict the value placed on cooperation in Puerto Rico schools emphasizing the value of working together.

The assumption of this study is that mainlander college students have assimilated the value of excelling for self from their schooling, even though it may be in conflict with values that permeate their home and ethnic community. They will show a greater preference than islander students for individualistic solutions. For islander students, collateralistic and linealistic values are stressed both in school and at home, and they will show a greater tendency toward these types of solutions than mainlander college students.

The predicted differences in relational value orientations lead to critical questions. If mainland college students have chosen the relational value orientations of the mainland schools over those of their families, how has this affected the modes by which they attempt to achieve in school? What effect does it have on their scores on various achievement measures? This study is a first step forward addressing these questions. It is hoped that it will provide information to help bridge the gap between the two educational systems so that the two cultural worlds of Puerto Rico and the United States can be integrated into both educational systems.

THE STUDY

Participants

The participants in the study were island-born and mainland-born Puerto Rican freshmen college students, 70 island-born and 55 mainland born. In this study, island Puerto Ricans are Puerto Rican college freshmen at the Colegio Universitario Tecnológico de Bayamón who were born and reared in Puerto Rico and had not lived in the continental United States for more than three consecutive months. Mainland Puerto Ricans refer to Puerto Rican college freshmen at Kingsborough Community College who were born and reared in the continental United States, are the progeny of island Puerto Ricans, and have not lived in Puerto Rico for more than three consecutive months.

Both groups of students were administered two questionnaires-one on demographic indicators and the Kluckhohn Value Orientation Schedule.

In 1961, Florence Kluckhohn developed the Value Orientation Schedule for testing differences, similarities, and shifts in the rank-ordering of value orientation alternatives among various cultures. Four problems were singled out as the crucial ones common to all human groups. (1) What is the relation of people to nature and supernature?; (2) What is the temporal focus of human life?; (3) What is the modality of human activity?; (4) What is the modality of people's relationship with others?. Subjects for this study were given the entire questionnaire. For the purposes of this paper, only those questions measuring relational value orientations (5 of the 22 questions in the KVOS) will be analyzed and discussed. This orientation has three subdivisions - lineality, collaterality, and individuality. An example of one of the relational questions is:

> A student has had financial trouble of some kind and must seek help in order that he/she can pay for educational expenses. Here are three ways of getting help, give us your opinion.
>
> A. Would it be best if he/she depends on his/her brothers and sisters, or on some close group of relatives and friends, to help him/her out as much as each can?
>
> B. Would it be best for him/her to try to raise the money by herself/himself, on her/his own, from an outside organization which deals with such problems?
>
> C. Would it be best for him/her to go to a recognized leader--a respected person experience and authority in the family, or community, and ask him/her for help and advice in handling the problem?

In this example, choice A would represent a collateralistic orientation, B an individualistic one, and C a linealistic response. The student is instructed to rank the answers in order of preference with the most preferred solutions receiving a rank of 3 and the least preferred a rank of 1. The ranks for each type of solution - linealistic, collateralistic, and individualistic - are then totaled so that each subject receives a score of 5-15 for each value orientation.

HYPOTHESES

A. Island Puerto Ricans will show stronger preferences for linealistic and collateralistic value orientations than mainland Puerto Ricans.

B. Mainland Puerto Ricans will show stronger preferences for individualistic relational value orientations than islanders.

RESULTS

Preliminary t-tests of means showed that the two groups differed significantly on demographic factors of age, grade point average, college credits, and parents' occupations. Furthermore, these variables were significantly correlated with aspects of the Kluckhohn Value Orientation Scale. Therefore, an analysis of covariance was used to test for differences in linealistic, collateralistic, and individualistic orientations while controlling for the demographic differences.

Table 2 shows the analysis of covariance for the Kluckhohn lineality scale. It indicates a significant main effect for Birthplace which means that mainlanders showed significantly greater "linealistic" preferences than islanders. (See Table 2, p. 28). This finding was in the opposite direction from what had been predicted.

There were no significant differences shown by the analysis of covariance on the collaterality scale. (See Table 3, p. 29). Again, this was contrary to the hypothesis of this study which predicted that islander students would show a greater preference for collateralistic solutions than mainlander students.

Finally, Table 4 (p. 30) shows that there were no significant differences on individuality between the two groups and, again, this was an unexpected finding.

Table 2

Analysis of Covariance: Mainland and Island Born Puerto Rican Students on Lineality with Age, High School Grade Point Average, Number of College Credits, Fathers' SES, and Mothers' SES as Covariates

Group	N	Adjusted Mean
Island	64	8.74
Mainland	54	9.59

ANCOVA Summary Table

Variable	SS	df	MS	F	Sig.
Covariates					
Age	0.22	1	0.22	0.09	n.s.
HS GPA	0.28	1	0.28	0.27	n.s.
Coll. Credits	1.27	1	1.27	0.53	n.s.
Fathers' SES	19.04	1	19.04	7.94	$\leq .01$
Mothers' SES	2.34	1	2.34	0.97	n.s.
Main Effect					
Birthplace	13.23	1	13.23	5.51	$\leq .05$
Explained	36.42	6	6.07	2.53	$\leq .05$
Residual	268.69	118	2.39		
Total	408.22	123	3.32		

Table 3

Analysis of Covariance: Mainland and Island Born Puerto Rican Students on Collaterality with Age, High School Grade Point Average, Number of College Credits, Fathers' SES, and Mothers' SES as Covariates

Group	N	Adjusted Mean
Island	64	11.59
Mainland	54	11.25

ANCOVA Summary Table

Variable	SS	df	MS	F	Sig.
Covariates					
Age	0.16	1	0.16	0.07	n.s.
HS GPA	4.34	1	4.34	1.82	n.s.
Coll. Credits	2.14	1	2.14	0.90	n.s.
Fathers' SES	13.89	1	13.89	5.82	$\leq .05$
Mothers' SES	1.86	1	1.86	0.78	n.s.
Main Effect					
Birthplace	2.11	1	2.11	0.89	n.s.
Residual	267.30	112	2.38		
Total	291.41	118	2.47		

Table 4

Analysis of Covariance: Mainland and Island Born Puerto Rican Students on Individuality with Age, High School Grade Point Average, Number of College Credits, and Family SES Covariates

Group	N	Adjusted Mean
Island	64	9.91
Mainland	54	9.67

ANCOVA Summary Table

Variable	SS	df	MS	F	Sig.
Covariates					
Age	0.78	1	0.78	0.24	n.s.
HS GPA	5.23	1	5.23	1.63	n.s.
Coll. Credits	0.47	1	0.47	0.15	n.s.
Fathers' SES	0.21	1	0.21	0.07	n.s.
Main Effect					
Birthplace	1.00	1	1.00	0.31	n.s.
Residual	359.67	112	3.21		
Total	367.16	118	3.11		

An additional comparison was also made to see the value orientation preference of each group by examining the average rankings of the three value orientations. Table 5 shows that comparison.[2] Although the previous comparisons show that mainland students were more linealistically oriented than Island students, both groups ranked collaterality highest and individuality next, with lineality being ranked last on this comparison.

Table 5

Average Rankings for Lineality, Collaterality, and Individuality of Mainland- and Island-Born Students

	Average Rank	
	Island-born Students	Mainland-born Students
Lineality	8.74	9.59
Collaterality	11.59	11.25
Individuality	9.91	9.67

DISCUSSION

The hypotheses of this study, that mainlander Puerto Rican students would be more individualistically oriented than islanders and that islanders would be more linealistic and collateralistic than mainlanders, were not supported. Instead, one comparison showed the reverse of what was expected; mainlander students were more linealistically oriented than islanders. Puerto Rican mainlanders are apparently more inclined than islanders toward the value orientation in which the leader keeps the community and/or family together. On the other two comparisons there were no significant differences.

Even though mainlanders were, contrary to expectation, more linealistically oriented than islanders, the two groups were similar in the way they ranked the orientations. Both groups ranked collaterality as their highest preference, individuality as their next highest preference, and lineality as their least preferred orientation. These results show the same ranking pattern found by Sjostrom, 1983. My interpretation of this is that islanders have moved away from only depending on and looking to an authority and have moved toward valuing family and community as sources for solutions to common human problems. In addition they probably will eventually adopt a preference for individualistic solutions while retaining as part of their bicultural identity an ability to apply collateralistic and linealistic solutions.

[2] There were no tests of significance performed for this comparison.

These results indicate that mainland Puerto Rican students are not oriented entirely individualistically and, thus, do no operate out of the primary set of values that guides the school system in which they are being educated. Instead, it seems that these students, more than island students, are still attuned to linealistic thinking in which they look to a leader for solutions to problems. In addition, like island students, they have the greatest preference for collateralistic (community oriented) values, even though they are moving toward individualistic values. These two results combined suggest that, although mainlanders are moving toward the values emphasized by the United States culture and, specifically, the school system, apparently there is cultural loyalty at work or that the sociological phenomenon of time freeze is taking place. This causes the mainlander college students to hold onto to their native cultural values somewhat more strongly even than islanders. Puerto Ricans on the mainland, feeling defined by and identified with their traditions, hold the values or characteristics of their native culture while struggling to understand and internalize key values of the U.S. culture.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS

The major implication of this study is of an educational nature. The data here indicate that there may be a means-ends problem in the educational program for mainland born Puerto Rican students: They are sufficiently motivated in their cultural modality and yet, there is no correspondence between the value orientations being utilized as the foundation for achievement development within the educational program in which they are being placed and their own value orientations.

The mainland Puerto Rican students are exposed to a perplexing array of contrasting values throughout their socialization including that received through schooling. Apparently as a consequence they are either "time freezing" their value orientations or developing a sort of cultural loyalty to their parent's value orientations. The Puerto Rican students in mainland schools confront expected behaviors upon which teachers place great priority, but which conflict with the linealistic behaviors toward which they lean in this study. The values of the mainland school system are evident in the behavior patterns imposed upon the students. They are expected, for instance, to be independent, divergent, and self-reliant. They are expected to compete by doing better than their peers, by finishing their task and exams in a specific time-frame, by speaking up assertively and by being individualistic and future-oriented. The behavioral values are, to various degrees, in contrast with behavioral values encouraged in the mainland Puerto Rican home in which these youngsters are expected, as shown in this study, to be linealistic, and/or collateralistic by being cooperative, conforming, convergent, humanistic, sharing with the wellbeing of the family and depending on the leader for the wellbeing of the community. I have no doubt that this overriding contrast in value orientations and the failure to recognize and incorporate the Puerto Rican students' values into curricula may well be one of the reasons the New York City educational system is not working well for mainland Puerto Rican students. Obviously, a school that does not consider students' value orientations cannot produce good results. On the contrary, the students' achievement potential is being inhibited. Both islander and mainlander students are defined by and identified with their language and culture. Mainlander Puerto Rican students are being asked not only to give away their language but, in addition, to undergo a transformation in value orientations that has proven to be unproductive. This is one reason that education for almost five decades, in my opinion, has not worked well for them.

Under the present methods of the New York City school system, all the burden is being put on the students. Letting the student be subject to the matter rather than letting the matter be subject to the student has been a failing educational policy. The recommendation included in the Blueprint for Teaching and Learning Report of New York State Education Commission Task Force, calling for learner-centered school is a realistic and sound one.

EDUCATIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS

It is recommended that in the case of the education of Puerto Rican as well as other ethnolinguistic students a model which synthesizes different value orientations into one teaching-learning program be piloted. Such a model would provide a framework in which all three types of value orientations could operate. The Puerto Rican students' value orientations, in other words the principles that guide their human conduct toward the pursuit of their life-goals, should be included in the assessment of potential and incorporated as a part of the evaluation of the suggested Integrative Teaching-Learning Model.

Instruction for Puerto Ricans should be designed and structured in an ethnolinguistic, student-centered fashion and in correspondence with value orientations. For instance, schooling responsive to the linealistic value orientation requires thorough feedback immediately after the lesson or task has been implemented or the exam has been given. It is a common practice for students to come back from their classes indicating that they have taken the same exam many times and do not receive an explanation as to why they have not passed the exam in terms of errors they are repeatedly making. The instructor would only underline or note that there is an error, placing the full responsibility on the student to correct it, forcing the individualistic style on the student who may be oriented to look to an authority figure to guide his or her progress.

Educational programs which emphasize an integrative teaching-learning model coupled with appropriate academic standards and with effective support systems such as the College Discovery Program of Bilingual Studies at Kingsborough (where some of the elements of this model are in place) are being replicated and/or considered for further educational development of ethnolinguistic students. The integration of school learning with life-like experience; the release of students' natural drive and desire to learn; the fostering of exploration and adventure out of which personal uniqueness and social diversity may develop; and the valuing of life-situations for choice making cannot be fully realized until educators are able to put educational goals such as the aforementioned together in some intelligible synthesis such as the Integrative Teaching-Learning Model.

The purpose of the Integrative Teaching-Learning Model is not only the preservation of traditional language and culture and transition to a new language and culture, but it is also the provision of the type of education necessary to enhance the ability to function in different cultural worlds.

The cultural worlds of both Puerto Rican islanders and mainlanders have undergone and are undergoing transformation and change, and from an educational perspective it is important for the individuals to be able to function in whichever cultural world they find themselves and at the same time to contribute to its continued development and enrichment.

If we can recognize and implement educational models such as this, the end product will be students who, in contrast to the students quoted at the beginning of this article, are able to synthesize their experiences into a bicultural identity. The following two students from the College Discovery Program of Bilingual Studies at Kingsborough exemplify this:

> I am a Puerto Rican American. I learned to be close to my family and they are my source of inspiration and strength. Whenever I get into a problem on the outside, I always come to my family for support and understanding.
>
> My Spanish is helping me a lot at home as well as in my education and it will be very beneficial when I look for a job here in New York City or Puerto Rico. As an American citizen I am happy to live in a country where, despite the obstacles, we have the opportunity to pursue college education. I feel that what I am achieving, I owe to the help of my parents, and the encouragement of some teachers. Here at this program, I feel we have the connection between my home and the school which I did not feel prior to coming to Bilingual Studies at Kingsborough Community College.

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